

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 140272

12

ORIGIN EUR-03

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /004 R

66611

DRAFTED BY: EUR:LBLAINGEN:GMD

APPROVED BY: EUR:LBLAINGEN

----- 063923

R 161832Z JUN 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

UNCLAS STATE 140272

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM LAINGEN

FOLLOWING REPEAT ROME 8295 ACTION SECSTATE INFO
ANKARA ATHENS BONN BRUSSELS COPENHAGEN THE HAGUE
LISBON LONDON LUXEMBOURG MADRID OSLO OTTAWA
PARIS REYKJAVIK NATO NEW YORK 10 JUNE.

QUOTE

UNCLAS ROME 8295

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, PINT, PO

SUBJECT: FALLACI INTERVIEWS CUNHAL

SUMMARY: "I REPEAT AND I CONCLUDE: PORTUGAL WILL NOT BE
A COUNTRY OF DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES AND OF MONOPOLIES. IT WILL
NOT BE A TRAVELLING COMPANION OF YOUR BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACIES.
BECAUSE WE (PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS) WILL NOT PERMIT IT.
PERHAPS THERE WILL BE A NEW FASCISM IN PORTUGAL; THAT'S A RISK
THAT MUST BE TAKEN ALTHOUGH.... I DON'T BELIEVE IN A FASCIST
COUP (SINCE) WE COMMUNISTS CAN AVOID IT THANKS TO OUR
ALLIANCE WITH THE MILITARY. BUT, FOR SURE, WE WILL NOT HAVE
A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PORTUGAL. NEVER." ALVARO CUNHAL,
INTERVIEWED BY ORIANA FALLACI, /EUROPEO/, 13 JUNE, 1975.
END SUMMARY.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 140272

1. CUNHAL, IN ABOVE-CITED INTERVIEW SPEAKS WITH BLUNTNESS
AND CLARITY ON THE "SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL, THE
UNIQUE PATH OF PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST POLICY, AND THE IRRELEVANCE

OF DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES TO MODERN POLITICAL LIFE IN
PORTUGAL. HIGHLIGHTS FOLLOW; FULL TEXT BY AIRGRAM.

2. THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION:

"TODAY THE AFM HAS ITS JURIDICAL, CONSTITUTIONAL EXPRESSION;
IT HAS ITS LEGITIMACY WHICH IS A REVOLUTIONARY LEGITIMACY,
AND WHO WOULD BE FOOLISH ENOUGH TO REFUSE IT? MOREOVER, I HAVE
NEVER SEEN A REVOLUTION SUCCEED WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF THE
MILITARY. LOOK AT CUBA. NOT HAVING AN ARMY, CASTRO HAD TO
MAKE ONE...WITHOUT ARMS, YOU GET NOTHING." "WE HAVE SIGNED
A FIVE-YEAR PACT WITH THE AFM AND THE IDEA OF OPPOSING THE
ARMED FORCES DOESN'T ENTER THE HEAD." "I WANT THE ARMED
FORCES BECAUSE I NEED THEM." "THE AFM IS NEITHER COMMUNIST
NOR SOCIALIST, IT IS THE AFM. IT IS MADE UP OF MANY VIEWPOINTS
BUT "IT IS INEVITABLE THAT WE COMMUNISTS BE IN AGREEMENT SINCE
THEIR OBJECTIVES ARE OUR OBJECTIVES. AND ONE OF THESE
OBJECTIVES IS POLITICAL POWER COMPOSED OF A POPULAR COMPONENT
AND OF AMILITARY COMPONENT."

3. THE POLITICAL PROCESS, PARLIAMENT AND DEMOCRACY: "IF YOU
THINK THAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY WITH ITS 40 0/0 (OF THE VOTE)
AND THE POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTY WITH ITS 27 0/0 CONSTITUTE
A MAJORITY, YOU ARE MISTAKEN. THEY DON'T HAVE THE MAJORITY. ..
..THE ELECTIONS HAVE LITTLE OR NOTHING TO DO WITH THE REVOLUTIO-
NARY DYNAMIC. ..THE ELZCTORAL PROCESS IS COMPLETELY MARGINAL
TO THAT DYNAMIC." AND "IF YOU THINK THAT THE CONSTITUENT
ASSEMBLY WILL DEVELOP WITHOUT THE AFM, YOU ARE MAKING A
TREMENDOUS MISTAKE. IF YOU THINK THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
WILL TRANSFORM ITSELF INTO A PARLIAMENT, YOU ARE MAKING A
RIDICULOUS ERROR." THE ASSEMBLY "WILL DEVELOP IN A POLITICAL
FRAME WELL DETERMINED AND CONDITIONED BY THE AGREEMENTS SIGNED
WITH THE AFM...BECAUSE IT IS THE AFM WHICH MADE THE REVOLUTION OF
APRIL 25, NOT THE SOCIALIST PARTY." "WE COMMUNISTS DON'T
ACCEPT THIS GAME OF ELECTIONS." "THE SOLUTION OF (OUR)
PROBLEMS WEIGHS HEAVILY ON THE REVOLUTIONARY DYNAMIC; THE
BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC PROCESS WOULD TRUST IN THE OLD CONCEPTS
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 140272

OF ELECTIONS, INVOKING LEGALITY." "YOU SPEAK OF LAWS TO BE
RESPECTED. BUT IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS, LAWS ARE MADE,
NOT RESPECTED. UNDERSTAND? REVOLUTION DOES NOT RESPECT LAW,
IT MAKES IT."

4. THE PCP AND OTHER EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES: QUESTIONED
RE POSSIBLE ADOPTION BY THE PCI OF "TOGLIATTI'S CHOICE,,I.E.,
ENTERING THE SO-CALLED BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY," CUNHAL REPLIED:
" NO (SEVENIIMES): WE HAVE ALREADY OBTAINED MUCH MORE.
TODAY PRIVATE BANKS DON'T EXIST IN PORTUGAL, ALL THE FUNDA-
MENTAL SECTORS ARE NATIONALIZED, AGRARIAN REFORM IS ABOUT TO
BE REALIZED, CAPITALISM IS DESTROYED, MONOPOLIES ARE ABOUT TO
BE DESTROYED, AND ALL OF THIS IS AN IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS.
IRREVERSIBLE* THEREFORE, TO COMMUNISTS OF WESTERN COUNTRIES,

TO THEIR COMPLAINTS, WE RESPOND: WE DON'T WAIT FOR THE
RESULTS OF ELECTIONS TO CHANGE THINGS AND DESTROY THE PAST.
OUR REVOLUTION HAS NOTHING IN COMMON WITH YOUR SYSTEMS."

5. COMMENT: CUNHAL'S VIEWS, AT LEAST AS REPORTED BY FALLACI,
ARE BEING INTRODUCED INTO ITALY'S ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN BY DC
PARTY SECRETARY FANFANI, E.G., IN SPEECH MAY 7 AT PARTY RALLY
IN PALERMO. MEANTIME, AS OF THIS WRITING, LOCAL PRESS
REPORTS CUNHAL HAS CHARGED FALLACI WITH "TEMPTING TWISTING"
OF HIS STATEMENTS. FALLACI HAS FIRED BACK, SAYING SHE HAS
THE TAPES TO BACK HER TEXT.VOLPE UNQUOTE KISSINGER

UNCLASSIFIED

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL MILITARY RELATIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, POLITICAL STABILITY, PRESS CONFERENCES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 JUN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE140272
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR:LBLAINGEN:GMD
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750210-0366
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197506101/baaaamsr.tel
Line Count: 122
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 MAR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 MAR 2003 by PhilliR0>; APPROVED <09 MAR 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> wfs 971023
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, PINT, PO, (CUNHAL, ALVARO)
To: BRASILIA
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006